THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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THE JAMES CONNOLLY LABOUR COLLEGE.

Good Morning

SOCIETY NOTE FROM MOSCOW.

Prince Godelpus, the well-known land-owner, has decided to spend the winter in town, where he can be seen daily taking his morning exercise.

Last year in Dublin, under the auspices of the Dublin United Trades Council, the Dublin Working Class Education Conference was founded. It was very successful. Classes and lectures in Industrial History and Economics were held, and over 190 students enrolled. The lecturers were Jos. McDonnell and Cathal O'Shannon and Brian MacGill.

The Annual Conference was held this year on Sept. 28th, in Banba Hall, about 30 delegates attending. For some time past it has been considered desirable and necessary that a Labour College should be founded in Ireland, and by the unanimous desire of all Labour bodies it was decided that when founded it should be called the James Connolly Labour College. An attempt was made earlier in the year to hold a concert in the Mansion House to raise funds for this College, but the British authorities showed their disapproval of the scheme by proclaiming the concert. Therefore it could not be held and no funds were forthcoming. But the Working Class Education Conference decided that somehow a start should be made and the first item on the Agenda of the Conference was a proposed new constitution. The Constitution adopted by the Conference was as follows :—

Name.—James Connolly Labour College.

Government.—The government of the College shall be vested in the Annual Conference of Delegates appointed by the Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, Socialist and other working-class bodies.

Management.—Shall be vested in the Officials, President, Secretary, and Treasurer, assisted by a Committee of twelve.

The officials and six members of the Committee shall be elected by the Annual Conference, and six members shall be elected by the students. No more than two representatives of one organisation shall be elected by the Delegates on the Committee.

Objects.—The independent education of the working class in subjects relating to social and economic conditions; and the preparation of the workers for their class.

And thus the James Connolly Labour College came into being.

The officials of the College elected by the Conference are:—

President: Nora Connolly, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union.

Secretary: Chas. J. Kenny, Socialist Party of Ireland.

Treasurer: Rose Timmon, Dublin Central Teachers' Association.

The Committee: Wm. O'Brien and Thomas Johnson, Irish Labour Party and Trade Union Congress; Margaret Skinnider, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union; Walter Carpenter, International Tailors and Tailoresses; Jos. McDonnell and Sean McLoughlin, Socialist Party of Ireland.

Jos. McDonnell, at the request of the Chairman, R. J. P. Mortished, gave this outline of the scheme of classes and lectures to be carried out in the 1919-20 session.

INDUSTRIAL HISTORY.

To begin with a lecture sketching the general line of development of human society bringing out the enormous importance of primitive invention and discovery under the régime of communism.

The forms of social organisations recorded by history and tradition and observable in the existing backward civilisations will be studied and compared.

From that general survey the story of Ireland's development will be undertaken and the evolution of early Ireland from the communist clan into the clan, and with the growth of private property the rise of the family within the clan will be the subject of another lecture.

The remains of the art and culture of pre-Christian Ireland afford ample proof that in this period the population, sparse as it was, produced more than a bare sufficiency of the necessities of life.

The part that Ireland played in the rebuilding of Europe after the collapse of the Roman Empire, its place in the commerce re-opened by the Danes and Northmen will be used to show that the federal clan system with large elements of communism in it, was not inconsistent with the development of a world-commerce.

Lectures on Feudalism in Anglo-Saxon and Norman England will explain the reason for the invasion of Ireland and will record the conflict between the Celtic and Teutonic civilisations.

Despite the scarcity of material there will be great interest in the account of the growth of the towns on Ireland's seaboard, which served as trading centres and markets for the entire nation. Their guilds, craft and merchant, will be studied in the light of similar developments in Europe and England.

Throughout the course there will be many illustrations of the economic purpose of military conflicts between England and Ireland. The conquest finally made by England of Irish soil at the moment when feudalism was breaking down in England before the rise of the merchant class will receive special study, for it meant nothing less than the reduction of an entire nation to slavery. It was slavery without the comforts of chattel slavery, the new serfdom of capitalism.

The perpetual resistance of the exprop. riated people through the Whiteboys, Heart of Oak Boys, etc., will be shown in their true perspective as the real fount of modern industrial organisation.

The long history of urban Trade Unionism which in some cases bridges over the gap between the old craft guild and the modern Trade Union, and the struggles of the pioneers against every form of tyranny that the fertile mind of the authors of the notorious penal laws could invent will make a subject of rapt interest.

Following the eight lectures covering the history of Ireland up to the beginning of last century it is hoped to give courses dealing with Economics. The forms of labour organisations and the theories underlying them; and the Co-operative movement. A speakers' class will be started to enable the students to confirm their knowledge by imparting it to others.

Before closing his remarks Jos. McDonnell said that the plans for the present session are moderate but fully within the power of accomplishment with the present visible resources. But funds were necessary in order to put the College on a permanent basis. The Socialist and Labour movement in Scotland knew that it was there that James Connolly had first learnt what capitalism meant, and it was there he had learned the meaning of Socialism. And because of that, and because it was the work of James Connolly that had to a great degree laid the foundation of the movement in that country, they had decided to do what they could to raise funds for the support of the James Connolly Labour College. Therefore they have arranged for a series of meetings and concerts to be held in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee, and send the proceeds of these functions to the James Connolly Labour College. Nora Connolly has been invited to speak at these meetings and has accepted the invitation.

We are therefore hopeful that the followers of James Connolly both in the Irish and Labour movements in England will follow the example of their comrades in Scotland and organise meetings, concerts, and entertainments, and in this way raise a memorial to James Connolly.

NORA CONNOLLY.

AMERICAN C.O.s.

American conscientious objectors are still being persecuted. Laura Hughes Lande, 6625, Olympia Avenue, Chicago, reports that so lately as August 18th, 110 absolutists were ordered by Col. Byram, Commandant at Fort Douglas, Utah, to do military work of a character which they had refused for a year. They of course repeated their refusal, and were put in a compound on bread and water; there they are told they will be held indefinitely without letters or visits. Three of these lads were to have been released on August 20th, but they are still detained.

HOW A CITY SOVIET IS ELECTED.

Taken from an Account of the Elections to the Moscow Soviet, April 1918.

Pravda. *April 7th, 1918.*

INSTRUCTIONS FOR ELECTIONS AND RE-ELECTIONS TO THE COUNCIL OF WORKERS' DEPUTIES (*Soviet*).

EVERY factory, works, trade union and railway organisation where elections or re-elections to the C.W.D. are to be held must announce the fact at the Shop Committee three days before the date fixed.

The Shop Committee will ensure the exact fulfilment of the instructions for elections, drawn up by the C.W.D., and must guarantee all parties complete freedom of agitation.

The electors will be informed of the date of the elections by notices posted in prominent places in all corridors of the factory not later than two days before the elections: in the case of the trade unions the electors are informed by the usual method employed in calling meetings to elect officials.

A meeting at which not less than two thirds of the electors are present will be considered a quorum; if a quorum is not present at the meeting on the appointed date, the elections will be postponed to another date, when the presence of not less than one third of the electors will be considered a quorum.

The mode of procedure, *e.g.*, arrangement of shifts on the day of election, dates for registering candidates, etc., are left to the care of the Factory or Works' Committee or to a general meeting.

(*From the Electoral Commission, C.W.D.*).

REGULATIONS FOR REPRESENTATION.

Establishments employing 200-500 workers, one representative; those employing over 500, send one representative for every 500 men. Establishments employing less than 200 workers, combine for purpose of representation with other small establishments.

Ward Soviets send two deputies, elected at a plenary session.

Trade Unions with a membership not exceeding 2,000, send one deputy; not exceeding 5,000, two deputies; above 5,000, one for every 5,000 workers, but not more than ten deputies for any one union.

The Moscow Trades' Council sends five deputies.

Political parties send 30 deputies to the Soviet: the seats are allotted to the parties in proportion to their membership, providing the parties include four representatives of industrial establishments and organised workers.

Representatives of the following National non-Russian Socialist parties, one representative per party, are allotted seats:—

a. "Bund" (Jewish).
b. Polish Socialist Party (Left).
c. Polish and Lithuanian Social Democratic Parties.
d. Lettish Social Democratic Party.
e. Jewish Social Democratic Party.

Pravda. *April 10th, 1918.*

ELECTIONS TO THE MOSCOW SOVIET.

(*From the Electoral Commission, C.W.D.*).

1. The attention of deputies elected by Trade Unions to the C.W.D. is drawn to the following: The note to clause 3 of the Regulations for Elections to the Soviet lays down that only those unions can be represented which are affiliated to the Moscow Trades' Council. . . The Electoral Commission requests comrades who have been elected and who possess minutes of the Delegates' Committee of the Union which elected them, to register preliminarily at the Moscow Trades' Council.

2. All Factories and Workshops eligible for representation on the Council of Workers' Deputies are requested by the Electoral Commission not to delay in electing their deputies and to submit the latter's credentials immediately for confirmation; as comrades whose credentials have not been received cannot be present at the plenary session of the Soviet to be held in the near future.

Pravda. *April 11th, 1918.*

ELECTIONS TO THE MOSCOW SOVIET.

Sokolny Ward.

Riazan Tramway Depôt	Drivers, &c.	2	Bolshevik
	Depôt Staff	1	Menshevik (with instructs. to support the Soviet Govmt)
Borulin Factory		1	Bolshevik.
Perlov Factory		1	"
Baranov Factory		1	"
Kalanchevsky } Domnikovsky } Works ...		1	"
Posniak Works		1	"
Zakolinsky Works		1	"
Central (Meshkovsky) Stores		2	"
Ekaterinsky Charitable Institution		1	Sympathiser with Bolshevik
Tailors' Trade Society } Chemical Materials Stores }		1	Bolshevik
Timber Works		1	"
Automobile Works		1	"
Teachers and School Servants		1	"
Private workshops of the district		1	Menshevik
		1	Soc. Rev.

Samoskvoretsky Ward.

Bolsheviks	38
Left S. R.	1
Right S. R.	1
Mensheviks	10
Sympathiser with Right S. R.	1

Electrical Engineers Society.

Independent (place of Bolshevik)	1

Servants in City Tea-houses and Public Kitchens.

Bolshevik	1
Left S. R.	1

City Postal Workers.

Bolsheviks	16
Left S. R.	1

Pravda. *April 12th, 1918.*

ELECTIONS TO THE MOSCOW SOVIET.

ZAKOMENSKY WORKS.—An "Independent," sympathising with the Mensheviks, Andrianov, had been elected. On April 8th, at a meeting of the workers at the ZAKOMENSKY Works, a set of instructions (*Nakaz*) for the works representative was adopted. Andrianov apparently found it impossible to abide by the *Nakaz*, and resigned. In his place a Bolshevik, comrade Agafonov, has been elected.

RIBBON-MAKERS' SOCIETY.—On April 8th elections to the Soviet were held at the headquarters of the Ribbon-makers' Union. About 50 delegates were present, representing from 5,000 to 6,000 organised workers. Two Bolsheviks were elected by a unanimous vote of the meeting, with one abstention. A resolution was adopted in which the workers instructed their deputies to "stand firm," to carry on an unfaltering labour policy without political compromise with the Capitalist class and to remember that behind them stood the workers, ready to lay down their lives for the great Russian Socialist Revolution.

Pravda. *April 13th, 1918.*

ELECTIONS TO THE MOSCOW SOVIET.

RAILWAY DISTRICT.—The following are the results of the elections in the workshops of the 11th (Moscow) Local, Moscow-Kursk Transport Service:

Bolsheviks	1
Left Soc. Revs.	1
Independents	2

At a general meeting on April 11th a *Nakaz* (Instruction) was adopted, directing the deputies to the Soviet to support the Soviet Government with all their energies, to defend and strengthen the conquests of the November proletarian revolution. In the event of the non-execution of these instructions the workers reserve the right to recall the deputies at any time and to elect others in their place.

Pravda. *April 16th, 1918.*

ELECTIONS TO THE MOSCOW SOVIET.

(*From the Electoral Commission, C.W.D.*).

The Electoral Committee hereby draws the attention of the Factory and Workshop Committees entitled to representation on the Soviet to the following:—

1. In addition to certificates of election, Factory and Workshop Committees must attach minutes of the general meeting, with the seal and signature of the chairman, secretary and a few members of the Factory or Workshop Committee.
2. They must indicate clearly in the minutes the number of workers employed, classified under the headings "men," "women," "youths."
3. They must state exactly the number of electors present at the meeting.
4. It is obligatory to state exactly the number of votes received by each candidate.

The colossal work to be done and a number of special problems dictate the speediest summoning of the General Soviet. The Electoral Committee urges comrades immediately to submit minutes of meetings, and to hasten to receive the deputies' tickets to which they are entitled.

Chairman of the Elect Committee: RATEKHIN.
Secretary: MENSHENIN.

Pravda. *April 23rd, 1918.*

ELECTIONS TO THE MOSCOW SOVIET.

At a general meeting of employees of the Supreme Economic Council, held on April 10th, a Bolshevik, comrade Bogoraz, was elected as their representative on the Council of Workers' Deputies.

Pravda. *April 29th, 1918.*

The first plenary session of the Moscow Soviet took place on April 23rd, there being present, according to the report of the Electoral Commission, out of a total of 803 deputies from 394 establishments, 733 deputies who had received deputies' tickets. They were made up as follows:—

Bolsheviks	354
Sympathisers	150
Mensheviks	73
Sympathisers	9
Left S.R.s	40
Sympathisers	11
United Soc. Dem.	5
Independent Soc. Dem.	1
Centre S.R.s	61
Right S.R.s	5
Anarchists	5
Independents	9

NOTES.

It will be observed that the workers are represented on the Soviet under the following heads:—

I.—AS CITIZENS OF THE SOVIET REPUBLIC.—The old system of territorial constituencies, of candidates nominated by a Central Party organisation, etc., is not suitable, since, *in practice*, it leads to disfranchisement of large sections of precisely that part of the community on which the Soviet Republic relies, *i.e.*, the workers. Hence:

1. Whenever possible, the workers elect their deputies at the place where they are grouped for the day's work, and from amongst fellow-workers (like the shop stewards). Therefore, the bulk of the deputies come from workshops, factories, large stores, railway and other depots, large educational and other institutions (teaching and cleaning staff), etc., etc. In the particular case of Moscow, the capital city of the Republic, the large staffs of Government employees are also represented.
2. Where the nature of the daily occupation prevents "workshop" representation, the workers elect their deputies at a general meeting, *in working hours*, of the local or central branch of their industrial organisation. This applies to ribbon-makers (working at their houses), tea-shop, restaurant workers, scattered distributive trades (shop assistants, carriers, etc.), domestic servants, electrical engineers, etc., etc.
3. The general meeting of the Soviet takes place once or twice a week, the work in the intervals being carried out by an elected and salaried Executive Committee. The vast majority of the deputies, therefore, continue their ordinary occupation among their fellow-workers for the greater part of the time. Thus they are kept constantly in touch with their comrades in the factories and shops, and can pass on their instructions to the full-time workers of the Executive Committee at the weekly or monthly general meetings. In this way the growth of the "professional politician" type is killed at the very outset. The same end is reached by making all delegates revocable and replaceable at any time. [The Soviet is elected for three months].

II.—IN THEIR SPECIAL ECONOMIC CAPACITY, *i.e.*, AS PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS. Under this heading come the Trade Union and the Trades' Councils' representatives. These, together with technical specialists and certain other members elected by the general body of the Soviet, constitute, in addition, the Economic Section—a sub-committee to be found in *every* local Soviet, town or country, and linked up with the Supreme Economic Council of the Republic. While the general body of the Soviet and the Executive Committee retain control over the broad lines of economic policy, it is obviously advantageous at the time of transition to have the details of the policy also controlled by workers represented in this special way. The benefit reaped far outweighs the consideration that the workers are sometimes represented for a certain specific purpose, twice over—or possibly even three times.

III.—IN PROPORTION TO THEIR SOCIALIST CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS, *i.e.*, through the political parties. While the proportion of such representatives to the number of direct workshop deputies is infinitesimally small, the admission of political leaders, who, moreover, may be engaged in public service or possess special knowledge, to the Soviets is obviously a necessity for the time of reconstruction and transition.

IV.—IN THEIR CORPORATE CAPACITY AS LOCAL OR SECTIONIST SOVIETS, *i.e.*, by the representation of each ward Soviet on the general Soviet of the town.

This election took place in April, 1918—before the adoption of the Soviet Constitution on July 10th of that year, which practically adopted the Moscow type as the standard town Soviet (with minor alterations). Modifications since then can probably be ascribed to one of two causes:—

1. The reorganisation of industry. 2. The admission of deputies from battalions, squadrons, batteries and depôts of the Red Army.

[From The People's Russian Information Bureau.]

BETWEEN OURSELVES.

By L. A. Motler.

OUR TITLED TOILERS.

Those of the workers whose legs in a strike take on the sombre blackness of the Kingdom of Downstairs are putting on clean collars. Or at least they are giving an extra shine to them if they are soap and water proof.

The reason for this is that the Dukes are beginning to wire in. For the first time in their lives our noble families are taking a rest from strenuous brain work and developing corns on their hands. With hair brushed back on their heads and flat ironed with West End confections, they are variously engaged in doing the railway strikers one in the Nelly Bly.

"Lords, duchesses, countesses, and persons of every rank are helping," joyously chortles Lloyd George's very own "Daily Chronicle."

"Duke drives a Lorry," bleats the democratic two-faced "Star."

Ladies in costly furs and with expensive jewellery, we are told, were seated in the lobby carrying on all kinds of work. Exactly what kind of work is not specified. So far as I know an engine-driver does not do very much work in a lobby. And if he donned costly furs in the process, they would look a trifle moth eaten and engine-oiled after the job was done and he went home for a clean down.

I don't know that expensive jewellery is an absolute essential to ticket-punching, even when done seated in a lobby. And fountain pens have a nasty way of leaking on odd occasions. But we may hope that the kind-hearted Government supplied a manicurist's department a little further up the corridor.

The Earl of Portarlington has been working an electric trolley with The Hon. E. Knolles a kind of plumber's mate. The newspaper does not say specifically, Henry, that the Earl brought his coronet with him, but since the ladies of his class find themselves lost without an expensive fur coat and costly jewellery, we may be sure that his lordship did not forget his ermine robe.

Myself I have always been in favour of a dash of colour about my overalls, but so far I have had to be content with a bright smudge or so of printer's red. But if my employer does not object very, very much, I shall order Jeames to have my Coronation robes ready for next Monday.

The Earl of Drogheda also did his little bit with the milk churns. It is no easy job keeping a monocle glued in your eye whilst you twirl a score or so milk churns to the next platform. I have no doubt however that his Earlship brought his valet with him to replace his window-pane every time it fell out of his eye.

The language of these aristocratic Casey Joneses is really dee-lightful too. The "Evening Standard" gives some good specimens:

> "The guard of one train at Charing Cross was a most business-like fellow, who believed in getting his train out of each station double quick.
>
> "Hi! you bally old porter," he called out to a smiling platform worker, who was having a little trouble in closing a stiff door. "Don't hold us up for the day. We're not a funeral." "Right ho! old bean," came the reply "Take your rotten old train."
>
> "Y'know," said the "bally old porter," to an Evening Standard representative, "you've got to be firm with these guards. Very uppish folk, guards."

So now, Henry, you know the proper language to use on such occasions, doncha know. Whenever there is a slight delay in punching your ticket and the train is just in, tell the bally old ticket collector you're not a bally old funeral.

It is by the use of such choice language that we are the nation we are. There is perhaps not another nation could use it with such grace—or would.

By the time this strike is over there may be an entirely new language used on the railway which won't be either Billingsgate or Esperanto.

Very uppish folk, these scabs.

But if my lord of Portarlington, and his grace of Drogheda find it so exciting in doing trolley driving whilst their ladies, in furs and jewels, do some furious work whilst seated in the lobby, why deprive them of the fun when the strike is over? Why not offer both Earls permanent jobs as lift boys or engine-cleaners at Lloyd George's two quid a week? Why not engage their ladies as shorthand typists with five o'clock tea thrown in?

We are sure they could not, as patriots, refuse to be of permanent use to the nation as bally old guards pushing rotten old trains out of the stations double quick. "Honest labour bears a lovely face," says the old song, and what is a smudge of engine grease, come to think of it?

Even if their ermine robes get slightly soiled and their crownlets get a few dints in them, they can put it down to the dint of battle. Just imagine their coming home and explaining to the furred and jewelled shorthand typists how that particular bash on the fourth sapphire counting from the right was where his grace chucked a bally old beer mug at his lordship.

Altogether, on these terms, I imagine many railwaymen would be found equal to the task of doing their graceships' daily round of morning calls and afternoon teas for them, winding up with a Jazz supper at Murray's.

I put it patriotically to these bally old scabs, y'know.

THE WHITENED SEPULCHRE.

By MARK STARR.

Hypocrisy, where will it find a defender? Yet our present social system is soaked in it. What we are told by the teacher, the preacher, the pressman, and the chief politicians is in violent contrast with their own action and with those of the class they are willy-nilly forced to represent. So glaring are these contradictions that their being unnoticed is a tribute to the effectiveness of the mental domination exercised by the dominant class. But fortunately that domination is being increasingly challenged and to many of us workers in every paper of the "kept" Press these hypocrisies are now very obvious.

A short while ago, for example, the King, by a letter, urged us to "work and save," and we thought of the decorative, useless ceremonies which are his "work" and how working people might "save" themselves providing his fairly large income and give him a chance to live a more pleasant, simple life. Likewise, Parliament heartily assents to the need for "a more assiduous attention to work," and immediately after takes a nine weeks' holiday. By their deeds we know them.

Again, economy is being preached while a sum of £100 millions will be freely spent out in Russia to wipe away the most dangerous object-lesson to the capitalists that the workers have ever had the chance of seeing. And even in the face of Ireland, India and Egypt, lip service is paid to "self-determination" of nations.

Treading on the heels of the findings of a Commission pointing out the possible dangers of Trusts came the turning down of the tame Sankey report and the adoption of these very things with unlimited profits in the running of the coal industry. They must think us very short memoried.

This hypocrisy in recent events is paralleled again and again in the more permanent features of the system. Our masters preach thrift to the workers, but practise showy luxury themselves. Men who have never been in a coal mine, though perhaps living on profits made there, bewail the "absenteeism" of the colliery worker. (Even if these people were once to enter a coalmine or workshop they would take a photographer with them so that such a unique sight should be preserved.). They talk of increased production, but inwardly mean increased profits. They bewail the sad industrial future of "our" country, but what is really worrying them is the future of "their" dividends.

In times of industrial peace they ignore and under-value the service of the workers; but when the latter are forced to prove they are really in earnest by standing outside the workshop and the mine in protest against low wages or bad conditions, then their scorn is equalled by their hate. So important now are these formerly despised ones that their inaction is imperilling society itself. The capitalists, through their representatives, pretend to admire the finer virtues, yet when a huge body of men display a wonderful loyalty to each other, in spite of an avalanche of abuse and denunciation directed against them, this solidarity is represented not as a virtue but as a heinous crime. Class morality is theirs.

Through the schools the master class teaches the value of industry, and at the same time the criterion of a man's success in society is that he is able to live without working. Its chivalry does not prevent it from exploiting the weak of either sex; and it forgets its professions about racial genius and the white man's culture when cheap labour-power is available. To the capitalists "direct action" by the workers is an enormity; notwithstanding that they use every influence they themselves possess to bring direct action upon the mind of the workers from the cradle to the grave in order to perpetuate their own dictatorship. They are now the defenders of "democracy," while they contradictorily rule by a small junta of supermen dancing to the tune of Big Business. Such is their zeal for "democracy" that they are attempting to throttle all attempts to give men and women direct control over the working conditions of their lives. A system of grouping men and women on Where-do-you-work instead of on Where-do-you-live lines is anathema because it means their total loss of power.

For all good haters of shams and hypocrisy there is now only one thing to do. Come ye out from among them. Fling yourself enthusiastically into the work of agitating, educating and organising with the sole purpose of removing this living lie.

HELPERS WANTED!

CLERICAL HELP WOULD BE MOST WELCOME AT THE "DREADNOUGHT" OFFICE, 152, FLEET STREET, E.C.

WILL THOSE WHO HAVE FREE TIME PLEASE INFORM US WHAT TIME THEY CAN GIVE?

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

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IS IT PEACE?

RAILWAYMEN'S DEMAND.

Standardisation of wages all over the country. A minimum of £3 a week. The following table shows pre-war rates and the new rate demanded:—

OLD RATE, 1914.	UNION DEMAND.	Increase per cent. Min.	Max.
Goods Guards, L.N.W.R.			
25/0 to 35/0 ...	60/0 to 72/0 ...	140	106
Passenger Guards, L. & Y.R.			
25/0 to 32/0 ...	60/0 to 72/0 ...	140	125
Porters, Platform, N.E.R.			
20/0 to 21/0 ...	53/0 to 54/0 ...	165	158
Porters, Goods, N.E.R.			
25/0 to 26/0 ...	59/0 ...	136	
Checkers N.E.R.			
29/0 ...	64/0 ...	120	
Carmen, L.N.W.R.			
23/0 to 29/0 ...	61/0 ...	165	110
Platelayers, N.E.R.			
20/0 to 21/0* ...	62/0 to 66/0 ...	210	230
Platelayers, N.E.R.			
25/0 to 26/0* ...	62/0 to 66/0 ...	148	156

* Lowest and highest rates.

TERMS OF SETTLEMENT.

I. **Work to be resumed forthwith.**

II. **On the full resumption of work negotiations shall be continued with the understanding that they will be concluded before December 31, 1919.**

III. **Wages will be stabilised in the United Kingdom at their present level up to September 30, 1920. Any time after August 1, 1920, they may be reviewed in the light of the circumstances then existing.**

IV. **No adult railwayman in Great Britain shall receive less than 51s. per week so long as the cost of living is not less than 110 per cent. above pre-war level.**

V. **The National Union of Railwaymen and Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen agree that the men shall work harmoniously with the railway servants who have remained at, or returned to, work, and the Government and the N.U.R. and A.S.L.E. and F agree that no man shall be prejudiced in any way as the result of the strike.**

VI. **The arrears of wages which have been withheld in consequence of breach of contract will be paid after the resumption of work.**

For nine days the railwaymen stood solid for their demands, they showed their solidarity, and that alone is a good omen for the future of the worker. But now, returning without absolute success, will they again answer a similar call for a similar purpose? Will they still be convinced that their present method of organisation is the best means for procuring a share in that 'new world' so much talked of and lauded? Will they ever again with the same confidence leave their fate in the hands of leaders? These are all questions which railway workers would do well to consider, for on the answer to them depends in a vast degree the failure or success of the strike.

Material success has not been attained, for the minimum of 51s. per week for an adult worker, so long as the cost of living is not less than 110 per cent. above pre-war level is but equivalent to 23s. in pre-war days, and then there is no surety as yet whether this sum may not be bargained down to a much lower level. Where then is the £3 a week minimum, which was all too modest in its pretensions? Does it occur to those leaders or to these Cabinet gentlemen with their £5,000 minimum that nine shillings less than the present demand of the railwaymen may mean dire poverty? People earning large sums regard nine shillings as a mere trifle; but is it that to the family trying to exist on 51s. a week? How would any of the 'leaders' or negotiators like to try to exist on 51s. a week?

At the Albert Hall on Sunday last Mr. J. H. Thomas remarked; "I know better than most people that once again I shall have to go through the unpleasant ordeal of hearing that 'Thomas has once again sold the men.'" But why be in a position to sell anyone? Why stand on a pinnacle, apart, assuming responsibility that no man should venture to take—was there ever such absurd arrogance or such a dangerous course! Mr. Thomas also referred to the fact that he is a Privy Councillor and that many might say that by leading a strike he had betrayed that "great honour" That may be, but there will also be many who regret having allowed a P.C. to lead them.

Nothing was said at Albert Hall as to the course to be adopted should the negotiations for standardisation fail to bring about the desired result. There was no talk from the platform of renewing the struggle in case that principle were not realised; indeed the maintenance to the end of September, 1920, of the present wages seems to have blended the foresight of Mr. Thomas with the splendour of the achievement, and the fate of this "principle," which was the crux of the whole situation, is left vague. Further, there is no mention whether the Bill to fix a minimum wage, which is to be brought up in Parliament, will in any way interfere with this agreement.

"The railwaymen had no quarrel with the Constitution of the country," is the opinion of Mr. Thomas. But they evidently object, and he admits it, to how the Government treats its workers, which is a small beginning towards a quarrel with the system of the present Constitution. And even some of the N.U.R. men MAY be Socialists, Mr. Thomas; just think of that! Then, Mr. Thomas alleged that Mr. Lloyd George was mainly instrumental in bringing about a settlement—some say that the two Welshmen did it between them; and the "Star" reports Mr. Lloyd George as saying to Mr. Thomas, "I am Welsh, too, Mr. Thomas, and I know the value to attach to it." But exactly at what stage of negotiating these words of wisdom were uttered is not yet known. Much hangs on that!

A very striking feature of the strike has been the way in which Labour has predominated; for instance, the Government virtually climbed down when it reopened negotiations with the mediators. Then the capitalist Press, at the outset full of calumny, was forced to open its columns to the "other side." This was largely due to the "down tools" efforts of the staff of the "Daily Sketch," who refused to continue to print libellous articles against the railwaymen; the "Daily Mail" and "Express" are reported also to have had some trouble. What a wonderful power printers have if they choose to use it. Now they have given an indication of what they can do when their class is reviled. Have they never realised that the lies circulated about the Bolsheviks are also attacks on their class, and on people fighting THEIR battle? Lord Northcliffe, according to the "Times," said that, "rather than be dictated to by anyone or any body of men, I will stop the publication of these papers." That HE dictates to his men, of course, is quite a different matter!

Again, the eagerness of the rank and file to join issue with the strikers proves beyond doubt that all grades of workers begin to appreciate that an injury to one is an injury to all. There can be no international outlook for the worker until this principle of solidarity is firmly established at home, and this strike has in this respect been an omen of a better future.

On the other hand, one saw how the Government and its supporters worked with might and main to overthrow the Trade Union system, and force back the position of workers to that of a worse slavery than wage-slavery. Every inducement was offered to blacklegs, the charm of double pay (irresistible to the hungry) was freely used. People were not very favourable to those trains run by volunteers, with stokers wearing kid gloves, and the Government saw that these trains paid less well than those run by trained men on war wages.

Yet a menace is there and should not be overlooked, namely, the Army is not demobilised and conscription still holds sway, with the result that transport of a sort CAN be mobilised. The Government has tried its strength and found it wanting; is it likely to be less prepared for the strikes looming on the horizon?

Labour should be on the watch and be ready too for the next emergency.

M. O 'C.

A RANK AND FILER'S PLAINT.

Convinced that the sympathetic strike movement was held back by the various leaders, we asked Mr. Hickson, L.P.U.L.V.W., to allow us to print some notes from his diary of events. With the railway strike concluded, the tactics here disclosed may be pondered on and reserved for future reference.

SATURDAY.—The Executive Committee called the whole of the Branch Secretaries together, and a strike resolution would have been carried, but Robert Williams was there and made a point, which was, that in his opinion, the strike of busmen would be on Monday, and by that time he would be able to call his Executive Committee together, and get a decision from them. So they decided to wait for that.

SUNDAY.—Albert Hall meeting, where some of our men spoke to Mr. Bromley, who gave us the letter which appeared later in the Press. He told us that Thomas was against the busmen coming in.

MONDAY.—We met again, and Ben Smith attended the Transport Workers' Executive; but there were only four present, so nothing could be done as there was not a quorum.

TUESDAY.—A conference was held at Caxton Hall to "bridge over the difficulties." Ben Smith was present, and reported that they were going to see the Prime Minister next day! more waste of time, whilst our men are blacklegging, and aching to join the ranks of the strikers.

WEDNESDAY.—Another report of the Lloyd George meeting, the same thing. Members were so incensed against inaction that Platten and Anderson (members of Executive) said that whatever action the Transport Workers might take, they would strike the next night.

THURSDAY.—Mass meeting of four unions at Holborn Hall, at which a pious resolution was passed empowering the negotiating Committee to bring the men out if necessary. J. Saunders formed a deputation which went to Unity House. There we met Robert Williams coming out enraged about Thomas refusing the support of the other unions.

FRIDAY.—Fabian Hall meeting. NO representative there; that meant no report and another delay. Branch mass meeting at which our General Secretary was the first speaker; he told us that our executive had decided to hold their hand till the Transport Workers' proposed Conference on Tuesday. I could do nothing after that!

Meanwhile there is a rumour that 'buses are being driven in Regents Park; soldiers being trained to run them should the workers give the Government time to complete all the extensive blackleg arrangements.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

CITIZEN GUARDS

As a means of "maintaining order" during the strike, Citizen Guards were brought into being but now with the present strike over they are to be maintained. The "Times" is sure that "no Trade Unionist could object to the formation of Civic Guards." The 'formation' of course seems an innocent matter, but the USE is what concerns us. All these bodies, together with the military and police, which were so much in evidence during the railway strike, only force the trade union movement to still further resentment. All new organisations for the 'protection' of life and property should be carefully watched.

£5,000 A WEEK

In view of the pleas for economy the news contained in the "Daily Express" is quite opportune. At Newmarket the Russian officers, who are being trained to help the "loyal" Russians, are according to the Express busy playing tennis—they cost Great Britain £5,000 a week!

TOM MANN.

The chosen candidate of the A. S. E. for Parliament is Tom Mann. Surely he will not stand for what he so aptly styled the "talking shop!"

DISARMAMENT.

The French Socialists advocated in the French Chamber the progressive reduction of armaments with a view to bringing about general disarmament. The motion was carried by four hundred and sixty six votes to one.

PARLIAMENT.

The last-ditchers of the Parliamentary system were clamouring for the Autumn Session to be called earlier. But the Government did not think it necessary to preserve the farce that Parliament is a national necessity. There was quite enough Parliamentary interference with the strikers as matters were. Why should strikes be deprecated for political purposes when politicians play with strikes?

KOLTCHAK'S SOURCE OF REVENUE

Recent news from Siberia reveals Admiral Koltchak's real source of income. After he overthrew the Soviets in Siberia, he restored the vodka monopoly, with a result favourable to his treasury if disastrous to the people. In August last the sale of vodka amounted to 1,023,585 rubles, in September to 2,662,884 rubles, in October to 7,615,545 rubles, in November to 9,630,035 rubles, and in December to about 24,000,000 rubles. While the United States has adopted prohibition our Siberian ally, Koltchak, has thrown his official bar wide open and is reaping a rich harvest from the traffic in vodka. The contrast between the Bolsheviks whom he and his "democratic" allies are endeavoring to exterminate is very marked in this respect, as well as in the others. Under the Soviets, spirituous liquors are forbidden, as no one is permitted to make money out of the weakness or misfortune of his fellowman.

GOOD NEWS!

A Moscow wireless message states officially that the Esthonian, Lettish, and Lithuanian Governments have informed the Russian Soviet Government that they are disposed to begin peace negotiations not later than Oct. 25. The place selected for the negotiations is the town of Yurieff (Dorpat).

INTERNATIONAL!

The Labour Conference, which is to take place this month in Washington, will have no representatives from Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Turkey, Soviet Russia, Hungary, China or Mexico. But it is "international"!

SIBERIA BOLSHEVIK.

According to a Moscow message dated Sept 24th practically the whole of Siberia from Irkutsk to Blagovestchensk is in the hands of the Bolsheviki. They have occupied Tomsk and are marching on Taishet on the railroad half-way between Tomsk and Irkutsk.

RUSSIAN SITUATION.

Petrograd is again supposed to be in grave danger. Now Yudenitch is the hero who is approaching nearer every day. Unfortunately, this story has been told too often to disturb our rest.

* * *

Denikin and Petlura are now definitely in opposite camps.

* * * *

Denikin claims to be about 240 miles from Moscow.

ITALIAN SEAMEN AND INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA.

The *Persia* is being loaded with ammunition from the arsenal at Ipezia; the cargo being for Russia. The General Confederation of Labour has sent a protest to the Government, which had taken the precaution of not allowing workers' representatives to meet the ships' crew, demanding that representatives be allowed to meet the *Persia's* crew; otherwise there will be a general political strike.

La Feuille, September 29th.

ALLIES SEND TROOPS TO TAKE PART IN THE BATTLE FOR PETROGRAD.

Helsingfors, Sept. 27.

General Rodzianko and Baron Colonel Wolff have issued an appeal to the army of the North-West calling upon them to "liberate" Petrograd from Bolshevik "domination." The fighting will be vigorously renewed now that fresh troops have arrived and reinforcements have been obtained from the Allies. (Stephani.)

RED POLAND

"Communist agitators are working hard for revolution, and there is no doubt that their influence has spread even in the Army," says the "Times" correspondent from Warsaw. The fact that the Polish Socialist Party has made common cause with extreme Communists he regards as most ominous! It looks as though Poland will disappoint the Allies, and upset the encircling plan.

THE SOVIET VERSUS TRADE UNIONS.

J. Bromley, of the Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, expresses the following views on the Soviet versus present-day Trade Unionism:—

"I feel that whilst trade unionists generally are strongly against the Russian gamble of the Government, and desire the Russian Republic to have the fullest freedom in mapping out the future of that nation, the real policy of the Soviet form of Government is not very clearly understood, and I am of opinion that as it is better understood, trade unionists will have greater faith in it.

"I think trade unionists may, to some extent, adopt the principle in their own Government, and I think it well worth the consideration of all trade unions as to whether it would not be better to scrap their present method of electing their Executive Committees and have their Executives appointed in this way; District Councils to be formed in clearly defined areas of the country, with representatives elected one from each branch. Each District Council to appoint its own representative on to the Central Council or Executive Committee. Under this system each member of the Executive or Central Council would be directly responsible to an organised body and not to loosely-linked branches, and the District Councils would be the direct reflex of the opinion of the branches as a whole."

THE POLICE UNION.

The General Secretary of the National Union of Police and Prison Officers writes:—

"With regard to the present position of the Union, I am happy to say that, financially, we can continue to pay out strike pay, although it must be admitted that the amount paid is altogether too small to keep the men out of employment; but arrangements have been made whereby a sufficient number of propagandists are retained in order that the public may be kept alive, so far as the Police Union is concerned, and further, that we can continue our open-air meetings which we find are having such damning effect on the Government, although they require but very little effort on anyone's part to stand convicted!

"We have the backing of the Trade Union Congress, both financially and (we intend to have it) materially. The latter, of course, means tremendous work and effort, and many before have despaired of success, but seeing the sympathy and even the determination of the rank and file of the movement, we feel that the Executive Committees will not be able to maintain much longer the apathetic attitude that they have adopted.

"We are determined not to give up this fight until each man is reinstated in the service, and we see that legislation is introduced for the purpose of repealing the Police Act.

"We have had many expressions of readiness for direct action from various branches of unions, and I think all that it needs is a co-ordinated movement, and success is assured."

AMERICAN LABOUR NEWS.

SHOP STEWARDS IN AMERICA.

In Seattle, three months ago, the Journeyman Tailors' Union started the Shop Steward Movement. Through the columns of the "Voice of Labour" (U.S.A) we learn of its rapid development.

The union has a membership of about 1,000 distributed in 75 to 80 shops with from 5 to 40 workers employed in each shop. Every shop in the city is thoroughly organized. There is now one steward to each shop who represents alike the skilled, semi-skilled, and apprentices, and who is elected by a joint meeting of all employees. In addition to this there is a general grievance committee composed of five stewards elected at the regular fortnightly meeting of all tailor shop stewards in the city. The Shop Steward System has increased the power of the tailors who are now able to enforce a wage scale of—44 dollars for 44 hours, with double time for over-time and absolutely no work on Saturday afternoon, helpers to receive 33 dollars straight pay. The old scale was 36 dollars for an 8-hour day with helpers drawing wages ranging from 20 to 26 dollars. This scale will probably go into general effect upon the Pacific Coast, and the credit is largely due to the Shop Steward System and the revolutionary spirit of the Seattle tailors.

The movement is making a great advance amongst the Boilermakers, Steam and Marine Pipe Fitters, Shipyard Labourers, Riggers and Fasteners and Machinists' Unions. Much propaganda has been done amongst the unions and as many as ten thousand pamphlets on the Shop Steward System have been distributed in the various shops in Seattle during the past six months.

APPALLING FIGURES.

CRIMES OF CAPITALISM.

C. W. Price, General Manager of the National Safety Council, stated at a meeting held a short time ago in Washington, that 50,150 American soldiers were killed or died of wounds during the nineteen months of the war. During the same period 220,000 workers in industry were injured and 126,654 men, women and children were killed. DO YOU want to perpetuate a system guilty of these crimes?

NEW JERSEY STRIKE

Three thousand rubber workers are out on strike, under the banner of the I.W.W. at Milltown N.J.

The following are the demands made:

1. Eight hours to constitute a day's work and 44 hours to constitute the week's work.
2. A 40 per cent increase in wages.
3. One half-hour for lunch and fifteen minutes for washing-up time.
4. No deductions for damage to machinery while in operation.
5. Time and a half for overtime.
6. Double time for Sundays and holidays.
7. May First to be a legal holiday in this plant.

HEARD BY THE WAY.

First Businessman: What are your prospects of getting stuff out of Russia?

Second Businessman: Oh, well, now: Your prospects are Nil!!

Deduction: The International Capitalist offensive is a failure.

A TOLSTOYAN ON RUSSIA.

By P. Birjukov.

(Relative and Biographer of Leo Tolstoy.)

Translated from "Esperanto" (July, 1919), the organ of the Universal Esperanto Association.

Four years of the Great War barred from me the land of my birth. I did not cease to love it; its fate caused me anxiety: tragic and solemn happenings, of which it was the scene, drew my hopes to it, exciting in me an ardent desire to take part in the rebuilding of the country. After vain endeavours to obtain permission to cross the frontiers of the warring states, I asked permission to travel in the train which was to repatriate Russians who had been in Switzerland The head of the Russian Red Cross offered me the position of guard. I accepted this task with thanks and consciousness of the responsibility attached thereto.

We made a slow, troublesome journey, with all kinds of surprises, caused by the revolution in Germany and the rupture of diplomatic relations with Russia. Finally, a German train, unheated goods waggons, took us to the border of Soviet Russia and left us under the open sky with the sick, children, women and many packages. I was compelled to walk a dozen kilometres to reach a Russian railway station, where I could find a train for my fellow passengers who had remained in the shelterless frontier field. So I entered the new Russia on foot, during the night, in an unknown district. I must confess that I walked with a feeling of complete confidence, which did not deceive me.

Having covered a few kilometres, I met an advance post of the Red Army, two youths, in grey greatcoats, with skin caps and rifles on their backs, beardless, youthful looking, sympathetic. They stopped me, crying: "Who goes there?" I showed my guard's warrant, and they let me pass. I continued my walk in a desert, seeing almost no houses and going along the railroad. With me walked a group of Russian prisoners, liberated by the Austrian authorities. It was the advance guard of the tremendous flow of people who would be arriving a few days after.

I entered Russia with a feeling confused, and timorous. I had read so many inaccuracies about the present state that it was difficult to estimate the events correctly; but I knew that life there was becoming more and more intense; ruined by the Tzarist regime, by the war, by the revolution, but in spite of everything, life pulsating with creative force. I had read such terrible news of Russia that suspected great exaggeration, even mendacity. It was difficult to test the reports. But the Tolstoyan Movement was a sphere of Russian life well known to me. All the papers had published news of the sacking of Jasnaja Polania, the family seat of Leo Tolstoy. It was impressive news; it aimed at proving the complete demoralisation of the Russian people and its leaders; comment upon it was not lacking. A few weeks later I received Russian papers, in which a one-time secretary of Tolstoy fully disproved this news, saying that he had visited the estate and with his own eyes was convinced of the falsity of the information. I published this refutation in one of the Swiss dailies; a few weeks afterwards another journal again published the news of the sacking of Jasnaja Polania, with the yet more sensational addition that the very tomb of Tolstoy had been destroyed, his body stolen and divested. I was not in a position to verify this last bit of news, but I could in no way give credence to it. I had other documents, too, showing how far truth is lacking in newspaper accounts.

I entered Russia at a difficult period; hundreds of They seemed to me written in a logical and humanely democratic spirit—for the benefit of the working class. I saw a definite plan which it was the intention of putting into operation for the common weal. One could criticise it, oppose it, but one had no right to call it predatory. All this stimulated me to travel into Russia to see whether I could help in the building of a new life there

I entred Russia at a difficult period; hundreds of thousands of Russian prisoners of war had suddenly come to the frontier districts. Having signed Peace, the Austrian authorities opened the doors of the concentration camps and liberated the Russian captives. Overcrowded trains brought them to the Russian frontier, thousands at a time, and seemed to bring still further thousands. This mass of people, suffering from hunger and lack of clothing, with minds almost distraught by long captivity and home-sickness, forgot all misfortunes in the joy of seeing their families again.

Our camp was on the route traversed by this motley crowd. It was a catastrophe born of the war, and on the Bolshevik Government fell the task of repairing the situation. I can testify to the great energy, intelligence and good-will which it displayed to mitigate the terrors of this catastrophe, of which it was not guilty.

The prisoners, having left the German trains, walked along the railroad to the first Russian station. If they did not see a train there, they walked on, but the invalids, the weak, often the demented, fell on the way or remained lying in the station. Railway health and food department offices were placed at the disposal of the Repatriation Committee. Trains were quickly prepared for the German frontier. The prisoners made an assault to occupy and fill them, seating themselves on the steps of the compartments, climbing on to the roofs, and even on to the engine. It was almost impossible to obtain accommodation for our invalids, women, children, and packages. Finally, after waiting three days, they gave us a few empty compartments, guarded by the military, and coupled to a military train; in that way we came to Moscow. During the whole journey I witnessed an intense activity on the part of the railway officials. The multitudes of military prisoners had, in every big station, the services of medical men, and the use of buffets, attended by nurses. The fatal heritage of war was not liquidated without its victims, but every possible help was given, and nobody will accuse of carelessness those who aided freely in such trying circumstances.

Moscow looked much the same as when I left it in the spring of 1914 before the war. Great crowds were walking the streets. Trams were crowded and running fairly quickly. It was winter, the end of November. I hired a taxi to take me to my friends. To my surprise I had to pay 80 roubles instead of one, which was the pre-war price. However, everything had not risen in the same proportion. Foodstuffs, footwear, underclothing and all other necessaries had two prices. With cards, one could buy all necessaries at moderate cost; without cards the same articles were priced ten and twenty times higher than those fixed by the State for those producing cards. On the other hand, one must consider the fall in money values, and the proportionate rise in wages.

There exist industrial and agricultural communes, professional unions and other groups which aim at making human life more tolerable. An individualistic life is almost impossible under such difficult circumstances; the Co-operative Movement as well as the Pacifist Movement are growing organisations.

The great curse of the social and political life is the mobilisation proclaimed throughout the country. Willy-nilly, this had to be done. Neither the Government nor the people desires war, but constant attacks have led them to use the fatal implements of death, because the Government has proclaimed it necessary as a means of defence.

What can I say about the other misfortunes which are adding to the suffering of Russia? The terror? I arrived at a moment when it was no longer being applied: only from time to time did the populace hear of a few isolated cases

The Red Terror was cruel, but not more so than the White. The triumphant counter-revolution mercilessly repaid with inconceivable cruelties. Every armed Government, in introducing a new regime, uses terror and makes liberal reforms only after the populace has been conquered by fear.

In an article in the Government organ for February last (1918) it was proclaimed that the Russian revolution had entered the second period of its development The period of Terror, necessary to show the power of the new armed Government, had given way to a reign of order, organisation and creative work. May these promises be realised for the greatest good of humanity.

I must further attest that many groups of all classes of Russian civilians, in no way unfriendly to the new regime, courageously protested against the Terror by all means at their disposal.

Another great evil worthy of mention was sickness The want of soap, underclothing, fuel to heat the baths, resulted in impurity, swarms of parasitic insects, epidemics of typhus and other infectious diseases. That has given much work to the doctors and all citizens

In spite of such conditions, Russian life persists in its creative work. The remaking of such a vast social organism requires enormous efforts. The immense task has drawn together all men interested in the fate of that great people whose evolution is strongly influencing the whole human race.

In the middle of February I left Russia. During my stay there I risked many dangers of the turbulent situation. Having crossed the Finnish frontier I felt myself in a country free from attack, but a great sadness gripped my soul.

Do you know the feelings one experiences in laboriously climbing to a rocky height. One scrapes the hands and feet and becomes tired, risking a fall into the abyss: but when one stops and inhales a lung-full of vitalising air, when one admires the distant horizon one forgets the troubles of the climb, and feels oneself happy.

Then follows the descent to the plain. The way is safe and easy, the paths easy to discern amid the verdant meadows with cabins and cattle. Everything puts us at our ease, but we are sad because we no longer enjoy the charm of risks, dangers, emotions.

I felt something similar passing the frontier of the world which calls itself civilised. After all my experiences, I feel thankful to be able to participate in such a gigantic work, humbly hoping to be able to give a hand with my little strength to the new phase of life of the great Russian people suffering patiently and with dignity for its high aspirations

THE FEAR OF HUNGER.

Ideals are very nice in their way. Nothing is nicer than to meet in a fine restaurant and talk over our splendid ideals, especially after a good meal. But it is surprising how few, with all their gush about beautiful ideals, really do get down to the things that count.

The fear of hunger is the greatest driving force in ordinary life. From the slum child, when it grows old enough to understand the gnawing pain in its stomach, to the well groomed business man who goes to his office in the vicinity of the Mansion House, all are goaded on by the same whip.

Some, the poorest, frequently stumble; they cannot move quickly enough and they get closely acquainted with hunger; but, however close or far away people may be, life resolves itself to-day into a race away from that dread thing which lurks ever in the background.

And so men and women maim themselves intellectually and physically, acquire mean characteristics, break friendships, get drab outlooks under the stress of that fear which guides and controls them.

And we are not supposed to mention these things in polite society.

Let us have done with all humbug and realise the truth.

This fear of hunger will dominate men and women, cripple their lives, and prevent their full, proper and healthy development while the insecurity of life caused by the present industrial system continues

Till then wolfishness, greed and meanness will be at a premium and generosity and nobility at a discount.

We must overthrow capitalism and make life secure for all before humanity will have a chance really to live and grow.

R. M. Fox.

BULGARIA AND ROUMANIA: LLOYD GEORGE'S WORDS AND DEEDS.

At the City Temple:—

To shift the boundaries of your neighbours because you happen for the moment to be stronger is foul play, and will have a foul ending, and it makes no difference whether the nation is great or whether the nation is small. . . . That one lesson, written as it is in blood, ought to be conspicuous to all lands, all peoples, all empires, all communities, all monarchies, and all republics.

The Big Five have placed under reactionary Roumania 2,009,900 Hungarians, 781,000 Germans, 638,000 Ruthenians, 749,140 Jews, 282,000 Serbians, 80,000 Slovaks, 41,000 Russians, 35,000 Bulgarians, and 25,000 Poles.

The Bulgarian Treaty provides that:—

"Bulgarian nationals who became resident in the territories assigned to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State after January 1st, 1910, will require a permit from the Serb-Croat-Slovene State to acquire Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality. All other Bulgarian nationals resident in those territories will acquire Serb-Croat-Slovene nationality *ipso facto* and lose their Bulgarian nationality."

"Bulgarian nationals habitually resident in the territories assigned to Greece in accordance with the present Treaty will obtain Greek nationality *ipso facto* and will lose their Bulgarian nationality."

Bulgaria is to have no navy, no airships. An Inter-Allied Commission of Control is to go where it pleases in Bulgaria, and Bulgaria is to pay. Bulgaria is to pay an indemnity of 2,250,000,000 francs and 50,000 tons of coal a year for 5 years

The Blockade.

The Finnish journals announce that the French battleships in Finnish waters will remain there through the winter in order to maintain a strict blockade of Russia. The British flying corps will also take up its winter quarters on the Finnish coast. These aviators are displaying an ever increasing activity against the Bolshevik forces.

L'Humanité, October 1st, 1919, *via* Stockholm.

ALL THE WORLD DOES NOT WANT TO BE ENGLISH.

In the *Gazette de Lausanne*, Ernest Mamboury pretends that 95 per cent. of the Turks with any spirit are well disposed to have the English as their guides and supporters. A "Turk of Anatolia" writes in protest, "The Grand-Vizier and certain Ministers are Anglophile without a doubt, and that is precisely why the real Turks, those of Anatolia, are against the government of Ferid Pasha. To say that we have learned from Egypt and India that 'English rule is easy, generous, civilising and tolerant, that it does not exploit its subjects,' in view of the events which have just occurred in India and Egypt, one must have the bare-facedness of *The Morning Post*. We Turks have no wish to reap the benefit of English experience with the Asiatic peoples! The Turk is resolved to defend by all means possible the heritage of his fathers."

La Feuille, September 29th.

THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN EUROPE AND U.S.A.

"Le Phare," a Swiss monthly, edited by Jules Humbert-Droz, succeeds "Demain," which was suppressed by the police. We take from it the following account of the Socialist movement in Europe and America:—

BULGARIA.

The Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (strictly Marxian) at its last congress decided to affiliate to the Third International, and to take the name of the "Communist Party." The Congress adopted a manifesto, which supports the principles and the tactics of the Communist parties of the Communist International. Among the methods to be adopted are mass action, the political strike of the masses, even to the extent of armed insurrection.

The chief aims of the Party are:—

The seizure of political power, the suppression of the existing state; the introduction of the Soviet System to aid the proletarian dictatorship; the establishment of a Soviet Republic; the expropriation and Socialisation of the means of production and exchange; the protection of labour and satisfactory housing conditions for the workers and their families. At the last election in Bulgaria the Communist Party gained 47 seats, as compared with 10 previously. Still the Party decided to withdraw their elected members from the bourgeois Parliament and to abandon parliamentary action.

FRANCE.

The sympathy of the people with the Third International seems to grow. Its adherents are grouped into two organisations; the one is the Committee of the Third International, whose organ is *La Vie Ouvrière*, edited by Pierre Monatte, Loriot, etc.; the other, which has developed from the syndicalist circle, is the French Communist Party, organ, *L'Internationale*, edited by Péricat, Chauvelon, etc. Soviets have been formed in Paris, but the democratic police of Clemenceau have proscribed the meetings, and seized 28,000 copies of the manifesto of the Communist Party.

GREECE.

The Socialist Party of Greece held its national congress in June. It had become frankly revolutionary.

A resolution was passed protesting against the existing bourgeois dictatorship, and calling for working-class control of all industries and for the return of the land to the village communists; calling for the release of political offenders and declaring themselves as much against bourgeois democracy as against monarchy. It instructed its Executive Committee to join the Third International.

HOLLAND.

The Dutch Socialist Party (to which Gorter, Roland, Holst, etc., belong) which had adhered to the Zimmerwaldian movement already in November, 1918, has decided to become the Communist Party. On the 29th June of this year, at its annual congress, it decided to join the 3rd International. But its internal policy has not been touched by this formal change and the revolutionary minority is stifled by the opportunist majority which refuses to let it write in the organ of the Party.

NORWAY.

At their last conference the Norwegian Socialists decided, by an enormous majority, to work for the establishment of a government of Soviets and to employ the parliamentary strike as one of its weapons, that is, the Socialist Members of Parliament will not attend Parliament, which, considering their number, will thereby impede its powers. The minority, in disagreement with the Soviet system of government, have formed a separate group, without actually leaving the main Party.

POLAND.

In Poland, as in every other country, there are two Socialist parties representing the revolutionary and the democratic tendencies. At the First of May demonstration the democrats, according to the capitalist Press, numbered 25,000, the revolutionaries 60,000. The mining district of Dombrovo is the centre of the Communist movement. The equilibrium is established by the Jewish parties, who, for opportunist reasons, vote with the social-democrats. Over 350,000 disabled soldiers have joined the Communists. The social-democrats sabotage the working-class movement by setting up workers' social-democratic councils.

SWEDEN

The Left Socialists held a special congress in Stockholm from June 12th to 15th, to try to obtain unity, as they were menaced by fundamental differences of opinion between the parliamentary faction represented by Lindhagen and Venner Stroem, and the Bolshevist faction, whose organ is *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, and to which belong Höglund and Grimlund. The chief question they discussed was whether they should join the Third International. This congress was entirely devoted to the discussion of their relations with the Third International of Moscow. The following motion was adopted: "The Party considers the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the political and economic powers of the working-classes as a necessary means of attaining Socialism, which alone can realise a true democracy." The aim of the Party is to gather the whole of the Swedish working people around this programme.

If the Socialists of the Left continue, in spite of all, to take part in the parliamentary work, it is partly to protect the working-classes of to-day and to profit, in conformity with the essential doctrine of the social-democrats, by the possibilities which the Parliamentary and municipal elections offer, and partly because our country has not yet reached the revolutionary stage when it can form the new machine of the proletarian democracy.

The Congress specially affirms that the parliamentary work ought to be subordinated to the methods of the struggle which the revolutionary age demands, notably to mass action, which the Party should encourage to the utmost. It is the success of this action, which will produce the democracy of the councils.

The Socialist constitution must be founded on the institution of councils, councils of the proletarian workers and peasants, which place all power in the hands of the workers and which base the electoral rights exclusively on the participation in productive labour.

The necessary councils of workers are not those which seek to realise benefits, but those which will suppress all waste and take command of productive activities. The institution of the revolution and of Socialism, with as few victims as possible, demands that the bourgeois class should be disarmed and they shall be deprived of their greatest and most dangerous weapon—militarism. Further, it advocates the setting up of Soldiers' Councils, and the carrying on of an active propaganda among the military to make the soldiers Socialists and to prevent them being used against the workers.

The Congress approves of co-operation with other groups if they are in favour of the revolutionary class-war and the dictatorship of the proletariat, thus accomplishing the overthrow of militarism.

Expressing its solidarity with the revolutionary parties in other countries the Congress hailed with joy the formation of the Third International and decided that the Party affiliate to it.

LETTLAND.

In a letter to German Communists, dated July 27th, 1919, the Lettish Communist Party tells that it has only been four months in existence. Its activities have been hampered by the fighting and massacre which have been going on; but this violence has helped to make the newly-formed party more determined to attain Communism.

UNITED STATES.

The majority has been expelled from the party's National Executive Committee on account of alleged Bolshevik tendencies. The excluded majority has now formed itself into a Communist Party based on Sovietism (see full account, "W.D.," October 4th), and finally broken with the Socialist Party of America.

More than 2,000 comrades are in prison for their anti-militarist or Communist propaganda.

FATE OF RUSSIAN EXILES.

The Russian Delegates Committee sends us these facts which confirm rumours hitherto circulated as to the fate of recently deported Russians. Never has such treatment been meted out to people who sought asylum in this country. The Committee states:—

"About last April and May, at the instigation of the gutter press and the command of the Home Office, the police made a sudden raid on the Russian colony and under the pretension of clearing out Bolsheviks, criminals, etc, many Russian citizens were arrested, kept in Brixton prison for weeks without any charge or trial and finally deported. On enquiry we were told their boat was sailing to Odessa.

"A few weeks later we received letters from an internment camp in Turkey saying that instead of sending them to Russia, the British authorities found it more convenient to keep the Russians interned there. The excuse was that there was no steamer accommodation for them, although boats were frequently sailing from Constantinople to Odessa. However we were assured that they will ultimately be sent to Central Russia. The other day a letter reached London from one with the news that all of them are being sent somewhere, but they were not allowed to know where they are being sent to.

"I made enquiries at the Home Office and have been told that three weeks ago there was an order issued to send them to 'Novo-Rossiusk' where Denikin is operating, and as these unfortunates are classed by the British authorities as 'Bolsheviks' their fate had been sealed. But fortunately that order was cancelled, so I was given to understand, and the Home Office has no idea where they are being sent to now. I was referred to the Admiralty for further news; at the Admiralty I was told that they have nothing to do with the matter, and thus the matter stands. The feelings of their wives and children at this news one can hardly imagine.

"Pray, for Heaven's sake, are there no Englishmen to whom we can appeal for fair play?"

FEAR OF BOLSHEVISM.

(NEW SOLIDARITY, AUGUST 23RD, 1919.)

The world's largest insurance policy has been written in Chicago. It insures the Cleveland Railway Company against "riot and civil commotion," and 10,110,000 dols. is the amount. The premium was the largest single premium ever charged—37,110 dols., the rate being 37 cents. The "riot and civil commotion" policy sought by great industries to provide against violence and possible "Bolshevism," is gaining in popularity locally, too, according to agents, and many policies have been taken out against such attacks or damages.

PERTINENT QUESTIONS.

During a vote of credit in the French Chamber, the Socialists endeavoured in vain to get a Government statement on the expenditure for the war against Soviet Russia. Ernest Lafont wanted to know (1) What France's share was of the fifteen millions spent on aeroplanes for Siberia? (2) If Koltchak, Denikin and the Baltic Governments had credits opened to them in order to enable them to buy war material from France? and (3) If it were true that a consortium had been formed in order to group the representatives of all the big Russian firms who have subscribed to a guarantee fund taking the rouble at its pre-war value, and that loans will be made to this consortium just as if it were the Russian State; the amount of these loans to be handed over to Koltchak and Denikin? M. Pichon's answer was that the soldiers will be withdrawn! Cachin expressed the hope of getting a more definite answer before the elections. The servile Chamber voted the credits. All Parliaments are alike.

L'Humanité, Sept. 27th, 1919.

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE

AN APPEAL.

To those who believe in Freedom of Speech, Liberty of Conscience, and the Necessity for the People to maintain intact and in its full integrity, the inalienable right of every person to obtain in a Courtof Justice, judgment in accordance with the principle—no one shall be tried twice for the same offence.

The Signatories to this Appeal believe that at Havant Polic Court, on Friday, September 26th, each one of the principles upon which this Appeal is based were violated.

They ask for your financial assistance to meet the expense of an Appeal to the High Court against the conviction of Edward Clarges by the Magistrates at Havant (Hants) Police Court for distributing at Havant a leaflet entitled "British Workers, what are you going to do?"

The fact of distribution is not denied.

We challenge the right of the Crown to obtain the conviction by the methods pursued.

Mr. Clarges had already been summoned for the offence, and the case had to be dismissed because the first summons could not be sustained.

The Crown then issued two fresh summonses under different regulations, and sent down a representative to prosecute.

By these methods the conviction for the offence of distributing the leaflet was secured, free expression of opinion suppressed, and the principle that no one can be charged twice for the same offence trampled under foot.

If by these means the securing of the conviction of unknown persons in County Police Courts is to be tolerated and not resisted, then we believe the Civil Liberties of the People are Threatened and Menaced at their source by undermining the great Principle of Justice on which they are founded.

We also believe in instituting these proceedings the Crown is using regulations passed in time of war for the defence of the Nation against external enemies, for the purpose of suppressing political propaganda, and the free expression of opinion on social questions appertaining to the life and well-being of the Community.

We therefore appeal to you whom we believe to have shown us by your literary and political work you value as highly as we do the principles upon which the Civil Liberties of the Nation are based, to help us vindicate and keep intact in our generation the rights established for us by those who suffered imprisonment and even death for their sake in the past.

J.Lacey, Pres. Porismouth Labour Party; W.Blake Howell, Vice-Pres. Portsmouth Labour Party; A. Williams, Vice-Pres. Portsmouth Labour Party; May White, Pres. Portsmouth Women's Conference; Rev. G.W. Thompson, Pres. Portsmouth Fabian Society; R. V. Colpus, Pres. Portsmouth I.L.P.; Catherine Colleypriest, Vice-Pres. Portsmouth I.L.P.; Edward Clarges, Pres. Socialist School; F. Collins-Bailey, Vice-Pres. Portsmouth Southern Labour Party; Margaret O'Shea, Norah O'Shea, H. Ireton, William Marsh, Albert W. Marsh, Dorothy Colpus, Joan Clarges E. Gray, C. Gray, R. Taylor, H. Currell, Maud Marsh.

£100 is needed to pay expenses already incurred to carry through the Appeal. Audited Accounts will be issued

Please forward subscriptions to

Miss N. O'SHEA, The Cottage, Cosham, Hants.

∴ Mr. Clarges as stated in our last issue, was found guilty and fined £10.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS.

Classified advertisements: One penny per word
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LONDON MEETINGS

FRIDAY, OCT. 10th.
The Square, Woolwich, 12 noon.— Melvina Walker.

SATURDAY, OCT. 11th.
Great Push for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia in the Holloway District.
Meetings at 3 p.m. outside Jones' Bros., Holloway Rd., and at 7 p.m. at Giesbach Rd., near Archway Tavern. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker, Ph. Edmunds.
CHARLES B. ROBERTS, (International Assoc. of Machinists of America, A.S. Toolmakers and Machinists), will speak at the following meetings on "HOW MARTENS (Bolshevik Representative in U.S.A.) WORKS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA."
Sunday, 12th Oct. 11.45 a.m. Osborn Street. Chair—Melvina Walker, Minnie Birch,
7 p.m. Dock Gates. Jack Tanner. Chair—Melvina Walker.
Monday, 13th Oct. 12 noon, Custom House.
7 p.m. Salmon Lane, Limehouse. Chair—J. Mahoney.
Tuesday, 14th Oct. 7 p.m. West Ealing Cinema.
Wednesday, 15th Oct. 8.15 p.m. Liberty Club, Green Lanes. N.4. Chair—N. L. Smyth,
Thursday, Oct. 16th, —12.45 a.m. Bryant and Mays. 7 p.m., Leytonstone Herald League.
Friday, 17th Oct. 12 noon—The Square, Woolwich Chair — Melvina Walker 7 p.m. „ „
Saturday, 18th Oct. 12 noon—The Grove, Hammersmith. 6 p.m., Acton Market.
Sunday, 19th Oct. 7 p.m.— Odd Fellows Hall, 3, Queen's Road, Peckham.
Monday, 20th Oct. 8.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street, Poplar.
Tuesday, 21st Oct. 12 noon—Tower Hill.
7 p.m. Queen's Rd., Hackney.
Wednesday, 22nd Oct. 11.30 a.m. Roman Road, 7 p.m. Salmon and Ball.
Friday, 24th. Oct. 12 noon—Beckton Rd., Canning Town. 6 p.m., Hyde Park.
Saturday, 25th Oct. 12 noon—Hanwell Broadway 6 p.m. Ealing Common.
Sunday, 26th Oct. 11 a.m. Victoria Park, 7 p.m. 400, Old Ford Road, E.3.

Owing to Comrade Roberts' Campaign, the General Members' Meeting will be held on Wednesday, October 22nd, at 20, Railway Street.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.

SUNDAY, OCT. 12th.
Victoria Park, 12 noon—Walter Ponder and others.
TUESDAY, OCT. 14th.
Queen's Road (corner of Dalston Lane, 7.30p.m.—Walter Ponder and others.
THURSDAY, OCT. 16th.
400, Old Ford Road, E.3.,—Business Meeting.

WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.

TUESDAY, OCT. 14th.
William Morris Hall, Somers Road, 3 p.m.—Jim Cant.

CHRISTMAS FAIR.

We purpose holding our Christmas Fair early in December, and it is proposed that this year it should be an International Fair. All members and readers who have suggestions to make or help to offer are invited to write to Joan Beauchamp, Fair Organiser, 7 South Square, Gray's Inn, W.C., who will be extremely grateful for assistance and ideas. We shall want a great quantity of goods for the various stalls—toys, fruit, vegetables, fancy goods, pictures, Christmas cards, groceries, millinery, flowers, games, etc., etc.; and we hope that all our members will lose no time in starting to make and collect these things, as time is short. Offers of national costumes (given or lent) will be particularly acceptable.

Miss Burgis, at 438, Old Ford Road, is starting a working party to make clothing, etc, for the Mothers' Arms stall, and it will meet at that address on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, beginning on Saturday, October 18th, at 3 o'clock. All helpers will be warmly welcomed. Material of all kinds, silks, ribbons, etc., are urgently needed and should be sent direct to Miss Burgis.

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NOTICE.

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WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

PUBLIC MEETING
Liberty Club, Green Lanes,
Finsbury Park,
Wednesday, October 15th, at 8.15 p.m.
Speaker:
CHARLES B. ROBERTS, (A. U. Toolmakers' and Machinists, International Association of Machinists of America,) on
"HOW MARTENS
(Bolshevik Ambassador in U.S.A)
WORKS FOR SOVIET RUSSIA."
Chair: N. L. SMYTH.
Admission 6d.

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